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FIASCO IN CHURCH MUSIC

Ralph Thibodeau

FOUR-YEAR TERMS?

Walter Dean Burnham

CHINA AND NAZI GERMANY

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NEWS AND VIEWS

In his syndicated column for March 20, William F. Buckley, Jr. argues that Catholics should not stand in the way of attempts to ease the abortion laws, but should reconsider their position "in the light of the Vatican Council's clarification last year of the meaning of religious freedom."

"Some Catholics," he writes, "may understand themselves to be pleading as defenders of the rights of unborn children of whatever faith, and the stand is honorable; but not viable; and the means by which the case is pleaded must be suasive rather than coercive. Not viable because the positive law, the law in effect, does not recognize an unborn child as a human entity, possessing rights—which is why penalties against illegal abortions are less than those against murder. With the result that the vision some Catholics might cherish, of introducing unborn children into the category of citizens fully endowed with human rights, is a vision so utterly unapproachable as to suggest that the requirements of prudence and of charity intervene: that other preliminary considerations should figure more prominently in the social program of the Catholic Church. One of them being that the resentment against the Church, if it continues to exert an inordinate leverage on civil policy, might be the greater evil, all circumstances included."

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A+ to Archbishop Dearden of Detroit for not interfering with Sister Marie Bernadette's scheduled performance in a University of Detroit dramatic offering as part of her studies. D— to Archbishop Dearden of Detroit for not interfering with Cardinal Antoniutti's interference which forced her out of the play. And to Cardinal Antoniutti himself: Z— and a copy of the Vatican Council's Decree on the Pastoral Office of Bishops, which, unsurprisingly, gives bishops the right to exercise pastoral direction in their own dioceses.

•

James Morris, former captain in the Green Berets, writing in the *Saturday Evening Post*: "In the spring of 1964, the Rotary Club of Hawaii donated a load of presents to the people of Vietnam. . . .the local Agency for International Development representative was frantic. He had examined the cargo. In a society where soap is just beginning to catch on, there is a limited demand for 3,000 Barbie dolls. In order to save the U.S. from embarrassment, the AID man denuded his warehouse collecting all the farm implements he could find, along with wheat and blankets. The gift was a huge success and the VIP's departed in an orgy of mutual self-congratulations. The day after, . . . the district chief, a lieutenant in the Vietnamese army, seized all the farm implements and other useful merchandise (the dolls were spared) and had them loaded on a truck, donated to him by the U.S. Army, and shipped to Pleiku, where they were sold. . . .

"About two months after the Rotary Club incident, two of the Vietnamese guards at the Ca Lui bridge decided to get a little carbine practice. For their target they chose an old lady in a village about 200 yards away. They started kicking up dust at her heels with their bullets. . . .She was halfway up the ladder [to her home] when one of the bullets killed her. . . .The village chief [when told] responded with an elegant shrug, a legacy from the French, and said that he doubted it was true, but if it was, there was nothing he could do about it, and why bother. It was just another savage."

•

From a letter to COMMONWEAL (March 11) attacking criticism of Catholic colleges: "That a periodical of COMMONWEAL's stature should have no one to present the 'other side' is journalistically unforgivable. . . . Are the writers in COMMONWEAL aware of, and I would add, sympathetic to the immense changes occurring in Catholic higher education? When Mr. James O'Gara, the managing editor of COMMONWEAL spoke here at Gonzaga recently, many felt his picture of the scene was bleak, unduly so. Father Neil McCluskey, S.J., our academic vice-president, took gentle but firm exception to the tendencies in his thinking toward a 1949 indictment of a 1965 situation. Only an impression, but one which more and more of us share about COMMONWEAL. . ."

(Signed) (Rev.) John P. Leary, S.J.
President, Gonzaga, University

From the Seattle *Times*, March 16, 1966: "Administrators at Gonzaga University canceled an invitation to Vincent Hallinan, San Francisco attorney, to speak later this month at the annual conference of the American Law Students Association. . . .The invitation to Hallinan was retracted last week by the Very Rev. John P. Leary, S.J., who said that he and the university trustees thought Hallinan would be an unsuitable speaker because of anti-Catholic views which they said he had expressed."

•

The striking teachers at St. John's University are putting out a comic strip called "Picketman." It deals with the adventures of mild-mannered Clark Kant, who is, in reality, the bearded and dynamic dissident, Picketman. The hero has just survived a fiendish plot to chew him to pieces in the whirling blades of a diploma mill, and the villains have just escaped justice by disappearing through a convenient loophole. Clark Kant, unable to find an empty phone booth, and therefore unable to turn into Picketman, has been arrested and found guilty, then given a trial. (Dialogue at the trial: "We sentence the defendant to be hanged!" "But you haven't told me the charges!" "We don't want to damage your reputation." "But you're going to hang me!" "Yes, but we don't want to damage your reputation. That wouldn't be nice.")

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

St. John's Statutes

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: The letter from Francis Griffith, a member of the faculty of St. John's University, which appeared in your issue of March 4, 1966 contains certain errors of fact which we believe should be corrected.

It is categorically untrue that the trustees of St. John's University violated any statutes when they provided notice of non-renewal of contract to certain members of the faculty on Dec. 15.

The statutes referred to by Professor Griffith in his letter were not the articles cited by the Trustees in arriving at their decisions. At the time of the announcement last December, it was pointed out that the Trustees had chosen to act under the provisions of the University statutes concerning the renewal of contracts for non-tenured faculty. In so doing, the Trustees relieved some individuals of the requirement to continue teaching while, at the same time, continuing to pay the salaries of all of the teachers for the full terms of their present contracts. In some cases, the period involved will be for as long as 18 months.

Professor Griffith has erred in his interpretation of the University statutes. In citing Article 5.7 of the 1960 statutes he fails to distinguish between Article 5.7.1 a and 5.7.1 b. It should be obvious that the Trustees, who are responsible for the functioning of the University, would be extremely careful in determining the method of action in this present troubled situation.

As to the other charge listed by Professor Griffith, concerning the availability and accessibility of the University statutes, his statement is entirely incorrect. The University library has copies of the statutes available for examination. Copies are also available in the offices of the various deans, etc. In addition, extracts of Article 5 were reprinted in October 1962 and made

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PASSPORT PLEASE?

The untrammeled investigation of Americans by Americans goes apace. Each advance in civil liberties is matched by developments of technique in surveillance. Like something out of Kafka, a whole bureaucratic apparatus is focussed on one individual, his private life and political views. In the last decade an entire "snooping" industry has grown up to pander to official and private paranoia, and its biggest customer – like almost everybody else's these days–is the federal government. The merchandise ranges from simple listening devices to the most complex electronic gear. If only the phenomenon could be isolated and put down to the fear of Communism. Unfortunately, it looks as if the spying habit has become a national pastime–and we are not referring to the movies.

The two most recent cases involved the federal government and big business. The latter, in which General Motors hired agents to investigate the private life of a critic of the automobile industry, merely reflects a trend in American business ethics. Like price-fixing, it can be dealt with by public exposure and legal remedy. The case involving the government is of far greater concern, in the first place because it is the government, and secondly because legal remedy is unavailable.

We are referring, of course, to Harvard historian H. Stuart Hughes, whose activities the Paris and Moscow embassies were instructed to report on during his trip abroad next fall. The FBI requested the reports, acting through the State Department's Passport Office. The order was rescinded after public exposure, and the story that emerged is a sorry one indeed. The cable to the embassies stated that Professor Hughes held convictions "toward Communism" and asked for "pertinent" information. What might be "pertinent" was not made clear. Professor Hughes, a respected scholar, is co-chairman with Dr. Benjamin Spock of the

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National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and has criticized the Administration's Vietnam policy. Senator Edward M. Kennedy, one of Professor Hughes' opponents when he was an independent peace candidate for the Senate in 1962, has hastened to his defense. The shame is that any defense was needed.

But the matter shouldn't be dropped there. What still remains to be answered, and what is most frightening, is what sort of thinking led the FBI to believe Professor Hughes' political views are a security matter. If all critics of U.S. Vietnam policy – Professor Hughes made the connection and we don't see how it can be avoided – are to be judged security risks and watched, then it's time for a national rethinking about security, political dissent, and the right to privacy.

As for the Passport Office, its director, Miss Frances G. Knight, is strongly opposed to a liberalization of travel policy. A powerful official, having recently feuded with her superior, Abba P. Schwartz, and seen him resign, she is now at odds with his replacement. Her source of strength has been traced to the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, which brings the Passport Office pretty close to being an arm of the subcommittee. It should not be, of course, any more than the late Senator McCarthy should have been allowed to have personal agents in the State Department. But the only remedy will be continual public exposure.

HYDRA'S NEW HEAD

The Administration's official Dominican Republic myth has been a Hydra ever since its birth a year ago. Two heads for every one cut off. The newest head to spring forth is the proposition that the Communists have admitted themselves that they were in control of the Dominican rebellion. An article by Ernest Conine in the Los Angeles *Times* of February 25 asserts that a report by two Dominican Communists in the *World Marxist Review* supports the Administration version of the events in Santo Domingo. The syndicated column of William S. White which appeared in the Washington *Post* on March 24 took the same line. The *World Marxist Review* article, writes White, has "now unmistakably and openly identified the Communist Party as the ultimately moving force in the Dominican upheaval." Conine's article was placed in the *Congressional Record* by Representative Armistead Selden of Alabama; White's was entered by Senator Long. Conine, White, Selden and Long all take the occasion of the *World Marxist Review* article to ridicule the critics of U.S. Dominican policy.

The trouble is that none of this is true. There is, indeed, an article about the Dominican revolt in the *World Marxist Review,* but read in full the article says just the opposite of what Messrs. Conine, White, Selden and Long say it says. The Communists, the article reveals, "failed to see that an armed uprising was inevitable. Consequently, our party found itself unprepared for the uprising *and was unable to head it,* although as far as possible it took a firm and resolute part in it." (Italics added.) The article reveals that Communist influence only *began* with the American intervention, which baffled and undermined moderate Bosch supporters who were pro-American. The article shows the Communists as divided from other far-left groups, as unable to influence the outcome of negotiations between the constitutionalist rebels and the OAS, and as unhappy with the leadership provided by the rebels.

Throughout, the article gives the impression that the Communists were a peripheral group, trying to horn in on a revolution they never made.

A SEMINARY ERUPTS

Turmoil in Boston

The demonstration on March 22 by 125 students at St. John's Seminary in Brighton, Mass., before the Cardinal Archbishop of Boston and a group of pastors he was addressing grew out of many months of unrest and near-turmoil in the seminary community. Until very recently, St. John's had been responding to the call for renewal in the Church under its previous rector, Matthew P. Stapleton. Widely respected, Msgr. Stapleton is a Scripture professor, an Old Testament scholar and an ardent disciple of St. Paul. An impressive characteristic is his devotion to the Church. In the days before the Council this was expressed by a nearly regimental system in the seminary, designed to instill in the students the same respect for authority that characterized the rector's life. His own unbending living of "the rule" prevented any general reaction against this regimen.

In the area of academics, however, Msgr. Stapleton gave the faculty responsibility for their own courses, letting them choose their own texts. This policy led to the introduction of the best current works in Scripture, and moral, sacramental and dogmatic theology. The liturgy, although at times hampered by a master of

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ceremonies who delighted in rubrical minutiae was sustained by faculty members and students from the rector down who appreciated new insights into the Church's worship.

When the Council came, the Rector was prepared by his own study and by his devotion to the mind of the Church. The reform began with the liturgy, extended to the point of urging the necessity of the seminary's utilizing the opportunity to draw on the intellectual and cultural values of the Boston area, and pointed out the need for summer programs where seminaries might get pastoral experience. A new horarium provided more opportunity for responsible use of time for study, leisure and spiritual development. After one semester, further changes were introduced on an experimental basis in one of the four "houses" at Brighton. Bells were virtually eliminated, and an option was given for attendance at certain exercises. By the end of the first year (1964-65) it seemed probable that in the Fall a seminary student council would be formed.

One should note two apparent flaws in the reform initiated by Msgr. Stapleton. Although he had the approval of the Cardinal for each step of the program, the rule itself was drawn up and presented to the faculty and students without consulting either group as a whole. The advice of individuals only had been sought. The second flaw was in communication with local pastors and other priests, many of whom became unhappy with the seminary changes. If some attempt at an explanation of the changes had been made, many misunderstandings might have been avoided. But there were no structures in the diocese for such communication beyond letters from the Chancery, and occasional clergy conferences (which might have been used, but weren't).

Late in the Summer of 1965, the by-now-expected announcement of a change in rectors was made. Msgr. Stapleton was appointed pastor at St. Columbkille's, Brighton; and the vice-rector and Dean of Studies, Lawrence J. Riley was appointed rector. Msgr. Riley was a popular choice outside the seminary. A former secretary to the Cardinal, he was revered as a learned theologian and a pious priest by men ordained as recently as six or seven years ago. However, men trained in the conciliar years had been increasingly skeptical of the new rector's response to the liturgical changes and the theological developments of Vatican II. He had openly expressed his distaste for the changes at the seminary and did much from a liturgical point of view to oppose them.

The first indication of a "counter reformation" came with the announcement of a re-shuffling of deans of discipline in the various houses. Father Shawn Sheehan, dean at Theology House and a noted liturgical scholar, was removed and appointed to the innocuous post of Dean of Admissions and Director of Vocations. Claiming ignorance of the changes made the year previous, the new rector pulled back on the expanded holiday curriculum, a program by which men were being given permission to attend lectures outside the seminary and student dialogues with men in nearby Protestant seminaries.

When the deans met to discuss the holiday change and petitioned the rector to reinstate the new horarium, the students were accused of going behind the rector's back. At the same conference, one in a series that steadily alienated the community from him, the rector proclaimed an Open Door policy. He spent the next two weeks seeing hundreds of students. The consensus seemed to be that the door was open, but the mind closed. He always listened politely, then began the debate with an "I understand, but . . ." that merely increased frustration and anxiety. Requests for a student council were met by a stern refusal. Both the minor seminary and the John XXIII Seminary for Delayed Vocations have such councils.

As the year wore on, there was talk of protest and demonstration. This was averted by letters to the Cardinal, intercession through the Vicar General, a signed statement of the "exigencies of our present situation" by the Deacon Prefects: all to no avail. It seemed the Cardinal would not meet with the men. Later it was learned that he had asked the rector about his coming down to consult with the seminarians. The rector's advice was "No."

The Cardinal's role is complex and tragic. His reputation as a champion of progress has of late increasingly been cast into doubt. But his appointment of a new vicar-general a year ago brought fresh hope. He was a relatively young man, an active pastor who had begun experiments in his deanery to bring the priests together in a truly collegial way. Gradually he began to assume a role as "mediator" between the Cardinal and the junior clergy.

The result of his efforts was an appearance by the Cardinal at a Day of Recollection where he concelebrated mass and addressed the men, announcing a series of meetings between himself and the clergy. The Cardinal agreed to establish a diocesan senate, to change personnel procedures at Chancery, to take authority from chancery and vest it in the liturgical, ecumenical and the newly formed human rights commissions. These were truly hopeful signs, greeted with

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enthusiasm. The hope spread to the seminary; for the Cardinal was saying now that he would meet with the seminarians after the U.S. bishops met at Washington in April to discuss the conciliar decrees.

The hope was short-lived. Shortly after the article "Nativitate Dominum" had appeared in *Seminarium*, a publication of the Congregation of Seminaries, the new rector made it known that he had asked the seminary liturgical commission, appointed a year before by his predecessor, to make recommendations on its implementation at Brighton. They responded with a three-page analysis which viewed the document (in the light of the Constitution on the Liturgy) as a limited decree which should not be implemented until the bishops had met. This, they had discovered, was to be the policy of ten or more major U.S. seminaries. At a faculty meeting on March 21, the rector responded by ignoring most of their recommendations; henceforth the vernacular liturgy at Brighton would be restricted to two days a week!

At this point, communications broke down completely, and the next day 125 seminarians demonstrated before the Cardinal and the pastors in an attempt to have the Cardinal meet with the student body. He met that evening with a representative group, talked with them, and read a three-point statement: 1) he would consider referring the Latin matter to the Apostolic Delegate; 2) he would postpone all ordinations (except perhaps those to priesthood); 3) he would not address the seminarians.

Two days later, eight men were expelled, after a meeting of the Cardinal, his auxiliary bishops, his chancellor and his rector. The rector the next morning assembled 13 faculty members (all he could find) and announced the expulsions. One faculty member suggested the men be given a chance to appear before the faculty. The rector replied that he would not "bargain with seminarians."

This is a tragic situation that could only explode. Other channels have failed. Now the violence which has been done to the seminary and the spirit of Vatican II must be exposed.

A BOSTON PRIEST

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CHINA AND NAZI GERMANY

The main line of defense for American policy in Vietnam is the appeal to history. History must be invoked because it is all but impossible to explain our Vietnamese commitment solely in terms of the conditions, threats to us, or interests of ours that exist within Vietnam itself. We seek no bases there, as Mr. Johnson insists; we have no desire to dominate the country; we have no important material interests in Vietnam. We fight for principle—a principle, the defenders of our policy say, which history will vindicate. The principle indeed is one which history has already proven right, the argument goes on, for in the 1930s the democracies failed to stand up to Hitler and the result was a world war.

But this overlooks much of what really was going on in Europe in the 1930s. Poland had been governed since 1926 by a military oligarchy established by *coup d'état*. The fascist party was in successive periods in and out of official favor, and the government—which called its system "conducted democracy"—practiced the traditional Polish foreign policy of simultaneous hostility to Germany and Russia, the policy, as John Wheeler-Bennett describes it, "of a canary who has persistently but unsuccessfully endeavored to swallow two cats." The Poles had annexed portions of Lithuania, the Ukraine and White Russia in 1920-21, and had sponsored a subversive irredentist movement in Silesia. As Hitler's Germany grew bolder in the late 1930s, Poland served demands on Lithuania, obtaining major concessions—and following Munich, Poland cooperated with Germany in partitioning Czechoslovakia, blocking Russia from intervening to support the Czechoslovaks, and seizing the Teschen region.

In the same period Hungary was ruled by a reactionary and anti-Semitic government, and it eagerly joined in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, sharing with Poland, in the contemporary judgment, "the odium of the jackal." Russia, a totalitarian and anti-Semitic state, formally allied itself with Nazi Germany after Munich, and behind the shield of this alliance the Soviets forcibly annexed Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, attempted to annex Finland by war and subversion, and joined Germany in invading and partitioning Poland. Rumania was a corrupt monarchy, a crypto-Nazi regime from 1936, a formally anti-Semitic and fascist state in 1937 and 1938, and then an autocracy where the fascists were butchered in the streets and their leaders murdered in prison. Greece was a dicta-

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torship from 1936 under General Metaxis, following a decade of struggle between republicans and royalists. Yugoslavia was a rightist dictatorship from 1929 to 1939, was a diplomatic satellite of the Axis from 1937; and Albania was an Italian client-state from 1927 and was annexed by Italy in 1939.

The unedifying truth about the 1930s is that Central and Eastern Europe were dominated by despotic, anti-Semitic, crypto-fascist or frankly fascist governments. Czechoslovakia was the only democracy, an insecure and divided one; Russia was the only leftist state, a leftist totalitarianism. The major states of the region officially or covertly cooperated with Nazi Germany's aggressions, even though they subsequently were Germany's victims. If the (highly arguable) contention that China today is what Nazi Germany was then is accepted, it follows that the "Vietcongs" of pre-war Europe, subversive movements ideologically linked to Germany, were the Sudeten Nazis, the Croatian fascists, and the Arrow Cross, Iron Guard, and Union of Young Poland movements. And however painful it may be to admit, if there were any "North Vietnams," aggressors or cooperators in aggressions, they bore the names Poland, Hungary, and Russia.

Echoes of the Thirties

Those who attempt to make an analogy between Vietnam today and Europe in the 1930s must, if they want to play this illogical game logically, be prepared to argue that Britain and France could have saved democracy by intervening in Rumania in 1936-38, the period of the fascist Iron Guard bid for power, or in Poland in 1937-38 when the Polish fascist party was incorporated into the union of government supporters—or by bombing Poland, Hungary or Russia in 1938-39.

In fact Britain and France did none of these. However lunatic their passivity before the aggressions of Germany itself—the real danger, the regime which the petty fascisms of Eastern Europe were aping, the most formidable military power in Europe—they had sufficient intelligence not to waste themselves in attacks on Germany's allies, clients, and ideological sympathizers, nor in (to use the current expression) open-ended attempts to police the internal politics and civil struggles of the interwar Balkans and Baltic. Britain saved democracy by standing up to Hitler and Mussolini. Mr. Rusk and Mr. Humphrey would appear to believe that it could have done the job better by standing up to Colonel Smigly-Rydz, Admiral Horthy, and Octavian Goga.

There is something more to be said while we are on the subject of mistaken political identities. China is not Vietnam, a fact which is hardly discernible in most of the current discussion of the Vietnamese crisis. If America's leaders really believe that China is a proximate danger to America, or that it will shortly launch suicidal nuclear attacks on this country or its allies or make amphibious assaults on us by way of a navy which currently is slightly larger than the Peruvian navy, slightly smaller than the Indian, or that the masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America are waiting to rise against us under the direction of Chinese commissars, they should then launch a war against China. Nothing will be served by wasting American resources and tying up our troops in Vietnam killing the Vietnamese whose civil war can only be a sideshow in any war to defeat China. It is difficult not to feel a kind of contempt for American Hawks who preach the menace of China but recommend the bombing of Hanoi.

The truth is that there are serious reasons for the United States to be hostile to China. The chief one is that China is hostile to us. China has also conquered Tibet, twice invaded India, and fought us in Korea. None of these were irrational actions; for all of them plausible rationalizations are possible; but all of them were brutal and unnecessary measures (though the Korean action may have seemed necessary in Peking). Moreover, the Chinese regime itself is cruel, zealot and megalomaniac. None of this seems to me adequate reason for an American war against China (though I did, or would have, supported American actions to check China's military adventures in Korea, Tibet and India). Least of all does the character of the Chinese government or its revolutionary pronouncements seem to me adequate causes for war. The world is full of brutal and provocative governments, and has been for a very long time, and I cannot conceive of an American war on China which would not further brutalize China, and brutalize America as well. But others, including members of this Administration, may disagree.

An American argument for war on China could, at least, be taken seriously as a case logically following from the assumptions Mr. McNamara, Mr. Rusk, and their supporters have voiced about China. What is indefensible is the argument against China that ends with a substitution of Vietnam as the victim. What is intolerable is the argument that by killing Vietnamese Communists we are punishing China. There is ideological intoxication in this, a treating of people and nations as though they were indistinguishable units in an ideological whole called Communism, but there is also hypocrisy, and, I think a kind of cowardice.

WILLIAM PFAFF

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ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

A UNION FOR PRIESTS?

How do the clergy feel about Father DuBay's proposal for a priests' union? This would be the acid test, but as far as I know, no one has taken a poll among them yet. I could be wrong, but I suspect that if such a poll were taken, those who voted for a union would be in a minority—for many reasons, some good and some bad.

As far as this layman is concerned, I am not taken with Father DuBay's idea, and I suspect most Catholics would share my view. Nonetheless, this reluctance to see priests lined up in unions should not blind us to the problems Father DuBay is trying to point out. It may be inappropriate for priests to belong to a union; my own feeling is that this would lead to further lay-clerical division rather than to stress on the whole Church as the community of the faithful, as the people of God, with a common vocation in the world. Nonetheless, priests have real problems and grievances, and these will not disappear by making light of Father DuBay's proposals.

In a recent issue, for example, *Ave Maria* presented the case histories of "the silenced priests"—thirteen American Catholic priests who have been reassigned, disciplined or otherwise restricted in their public activities since June of 1964. Included are well-known names like the Fathers Berrigan, Daniel and Philip, Father DuBay, Father Maurice Ouellet, formerly of Selma, and others whose names are by-and-large unknown to most American Catholics. All share one characteristic; they ran afoul of their bishops because of involvement in civil rights activities, peace efforts or something of the sort. The only exception to this pattern is the case of Father Gommar DePauw, who got into hot water for heading up the Catholic Traditionalist Movement and opposing the usual way the Vatican Council's Constitution on the Liturgy is interpreted.

Thirteen silenced priests may not seem so many, but for every priest who goes far enough to get into the papers, there must be dozens who have similar difficulties without publicity. And for every priest who gets into difficulty there must be dozens who fail to speak up on issues about which they feel strongly or participate in causes they are vitally concerned about simply because they know in advance that their bishop or their pastor or their religious superior would not approve. I think this is all wrong.

Pope Pius XII pointed out that public opinion was vital for the well-being of the Church. This seems to me to be obvious, and priests should not be excluded. Yet there are some bishops, pastors and religious superiors who imagine that theirs are the only opinions worth bothering about. What is the average person to do when confronted with such a mentality?

Heaven knows the layman has problems on this score, but in many ways the problem of the priest is far worse. In discussing the layman and public opinion inside the Church, Father Karl Rahner stressed the fact that the layman often has, not just the privilege of speaking out, but a positive duty. Under certain circumstances does this not also apply to the priest? True, he pledges obedience, but should obedience mean he must act like an automaton, speaking only when the bishop pushes the right button? I think not.

In his consideration of the subject, Father Rahner goes so far as to suggest that the duty to speak up might on occasion require laymen to form a kind of Loyal Opposition inside the Church. Is there any real reason priests should not be included in this? Of course, those who choose to constitute themselves a Loyal Opposition can hardly be surprised if their views are not always welcomed. Harry Truman said about politics that those who could not stand the heat should get out of the kitchen, and much the same thing would apply here, I suppose. The voice of the Loyal Opposition should not expect to be exactly popular in official quarters. At the same time the voice of the Loyal Opposition has a right to be heard, and this is the point; it should not be silenced arbitrarily.

Free speech and public opinion are always important in the Church; at this point they are crucial. One reason this is so, as Father Rahner points out, is that this is an age of totalitarianism. We live in an era of political leviathans and ideological absolutism. Under these circumstances, it is more important than ever for the Church to demonstrate that she is not, despite what many think, a religious totalitarianism. It is more important than ever to show that the Church favors personal freedom, political and religious. The Declaration on Religious Liberty at the Second Vatican Council was one giant stride in that direction. What I would now like to see would be a revision of Canon Law, the creation of an internal code of freedom for priests and laymen alike, that would make Father DuBay's union unnecessary.

JAMES O'GARA

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FIASCO IN CHURCH MUSIC

Compounding an aesthetic mistake

RALPH THIBODEAU

Without intending any aid and comfort to the enemy on the far right, I think it is time to admit that the musical *aggiornamento* is, at this point, an aesthetic fiasco. This is not to question the spirit of the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, but only its implementation in the United States. Artistic choral music has been downgraded, in the present liturgical turmoil, until it is in danger of disappearing from the churches altogether.

For the record, let me make plain that my record is clear. I have been as outspoken as the next person on the subject of greater congregational participation in the Mass, and I have written for the cause of the vernacular liturgy. I do not deprecate the congregational singing which has latterly taken the place of silent attendance at low Masses, but at the same time I am convinced that some thought must be taken to preserve and encourage choral singing of high Masses by trained choirs, working under professional music directors and accompanied by professional organists and instrumentalists.

The Church in the U. S. is now witnessing the phenomenon of the non-choir: in the name of liturgical participation, almost everyone is making music in the churches except the musicians; even where the trained choirs are still operative, their function has been reduced to little more than leading the singing of unison Ordinaries of the Mass. And there are ever vague rumblings of disbanding still more choirs. As a result, even where excellent choirs sang excellent choral music before the Council, the great choral tradition of the Catholic Church is in danger of dying out, to the ultimate musical degradation of the liturgy, and the incalculable loss of art music to the congregations of the faithful.

Several forces and events have conspired since apostolic times, but especially in the past 100 years, to bring about the threatened demise of art music as an enhancement of the liturgy.

On our end of the historical spectrum, implementation of the Constitution on Liturgy has, quite naturally, been entrusted to national councils of bishops, or regional councils where a common language is spoken. If past performance is any criterion, it is to be feared that most bishops are poorly qualified to judge artistic music, or even to keep the interests of art music in mind in making their liturgical decisions. While the bishops have theoretically gone to the experts for advice, the state of music at present seems to indicate that in most cases they have consulted first the liturgists, and only second, if at all, the professional Church musicians among the faithful.

And even where the professional musicians have been consulted, they have declined for the most part to assume the stance of the loyal opposition, seeming content to endorse every proposal of the bishops and the liturgists. Possibly some atavistic compulsion to pre-Johannine thinking has told them that Holy Mother the Church has spoken, and that they must now conform

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without a bang or a whimper. Or perhaps they have something new to sell. In any case, they have seemed to accept with gladness the abolition of standing choirs, and the substitution for choral art music of a dreary, one-voiced *Gebrauchsmusik*, created in a moment and for the moment, with no enduring artistic significance. And while honoring the good advice of the Council Fathers to sing in the vernacular, they have seemed content to give up with no regrets the treasury of Catholic polyphonic sacred music some 600 years in the making. Letting this treasury be systematically and officially excluded from the worship of the Church is an artistic crime equal in magnitude to razing all the cathedrals of Europe, or at best converting them into museums.

Cecilianism: White Lists and Black

There are precedents in Christianity for doing away with choirs, or with Church music altogether. And art music of various styles has had at times a struggle for survival. Yet in spite of opposition by puritans, most churchmen in high places have had the good sense and the good taste not only to preserve art music but to encourage it by patronage—until the 19th century.

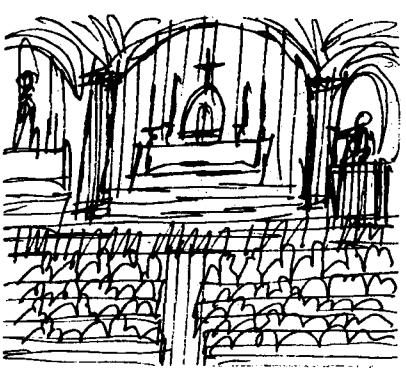
A little over a hundred years ago, two related movements in Europe started the divorce of Catholic Church music from the contemporary musical life: these were the revival of Gregorian chant, and the Cecilian movement, which also began with a revival.

Everyone is familiar with the work of the monks of St. Pierre in Solesmes in restoring Gregorian chant to the Church, after some 200 years of eclipse, by their scholarly investigations and their enthusiasm to revive what they recognized as an important art form.

At the same time, the Cecilian movement was begun with publication by German reformers of several thousand polyphonic works from the Catholic Renaissance, as a reaction to supposed excesses in the Church music of the classical and romantic masters and their imitators. But what started as a more or less scholarly search for the polyphonic treasures of an earlier age developed quickly into an attempt by the Cecilians themselves to furnish a whole new body of Church music easy enough to be sung in the humblest country parishes. Because they were inadequately trained musicians, they wrote only in a neo-Baroque style a simplistic music of the obvious, with few artistic overtones. The market for their artifacts was good. And in the Vatican I atmosphere, their repressive tactics and their purging out of the masterworks were highly successful. They were so successful that they established the style for Church music, Protestant as well as Catholic, first in Germany, then in Western Europe and the U. S., for 100 years.

And as the movement prospered, it succeeded in keeping the greatest composers of Europe away from composing for the Church, made the strictly Church composer an inferior sub-species of the genus composer, and drove the more inspired masterworks of sacred music out of the choir lofts of the Western world, operating like a sort of musical Gresham's Law.

Both the restoration of the chant and the Cecilian movement in polyphonic music were given official recognition in the *Motu proprio* of Pius X, November, 1903, in which he established a sort of trinity of song acceptable to the Church: Gregorian chant, according to the findings of Solesmes, Renaissance *a cappella* polyphony, and modern polyphonic compositions. The interpretation given by bishops and certain publishers and musicians to the "modern compositions" admitted only the works of modern composers written according to the supposed rules of art of the Cecilians.



As if this were not enough for America, the year 1914 saw the foundation of the St. Gregory Society of America; its first *White List* of music "approved" for service in the Church appeared in 1917. The 1921 edition carried the first *Black List* of disapproved music. Members of the American hierarchy rushed to add their names to that of Cardinal Bisleti, curial protector of the Society, thus approving the action of the committees of Cecilians in dividing all Church music into "white" and "black." It must be admitted, regrettably, that the *White List*, with its policy of excluding from the Church all but safe liturgical artifacts, was the dominant influence on Catholic Church music in the U. S. from 1921 until 1964. In the voices of a few busy men who met sporadically in the offices of J. Fischer and Bro. to consider a negligible proportion of the total published sacred music, the bishops and their pastors professed to hear the voice of Delphi—or of Rome. Thus they helped bring about the sad condition of polyphonic music in America up to the time of the *aggiornamento*: the immortal words of the Ordinary and motet-texts set to

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short, patent formulae, with only relatively few Cecilian composers transcending the low Cecilian artistic denominator, and still fewer composers practicing a truly contemporary art.

In spite of lip service to Palestrina, almost no Renaissance music was heard. And because of semi-official interpretations of what the Popes meant by modern polyphonic music, 90 percent of our part Masses were the work of inferior Cecilian composers, and were artistically worthless. They were like our statuary, to quote Maritain, "so much trash belched up from the cellars of commerce."

Small wonder if our bishops at the Council felt no mandate to preserve art music, as it was known.

Chantism

Gregorian chant, the artistic folk-song of the Western Church, was the other half of the musical offering. It was sung beautifully only in some monasteries and convents, and in a comparative handful of parish churches; elsewhere it was sung abominably. But the chant party made a fetish of it, while some choir directors adopted it as a musical, and some pastors as a financial, panacea. For while the Cecilians were performing their restrictive duties, the chant party was working, as others before them had worked at Trent, for proscription of all but their brand of sacred music. In their urgency (and one suspects because in many cases they knew nothing else) and despite the acceptance of polyphony by 20th-century Popes, some groups and individuals actually tended to identify liturgical music exclusively with Gregorian chant, using one term as a synonym for the other, bearing the *Liber Usualis* like a phylactery, pointedly ignoring or shunning as indecent the plebeian sacred music written not only in the 20th century or the 18th, but everything written since 1200. And finally, with the canonization of Pius X some demanded, or at least justified, virtual apotheosis of a style of music to which a Pope had merely assigned preeminence in a *motu proprio*. And because it was so apparently easy to sing, pastors accepted the chant as an economic *bonum Dei*, obviating the need for professional musicians in the choir loft, and, cupidinous for the stipend, assigned to the Sisters the task of teaching children the Gregorian Requiem for endless repetitions on week days.

What little contemporary artistic music was sung in the churches was the result of the efforts of Omer Westendorf and his World Library of Sacred Music to make available the best sacred music of Europe. Shortly after World War II, Mr. Westendorf began importing some of the glorious works he had heard while serving in the European army of occupation. Eventually, he established the World Library of Sacred Music in his home town of Cincinnati, the former fortress of German-American Cecilianism. And in the 20 years since the end of the war he has built up a devoted following among Catholic Church musicians, particularly for his missionary work in championing the liturgically apt, progressive works of the contemporary composers of the Low Countries and France.

It is ironical that just at the point in history when the influence of the World Library was becoming of the greatest significance for the future of Catholic Church music in America, the Constitution on Liturgy, and its implementation in a swing to the strictly vernacular, destroyed the tenuous thread of the Latin which had begun to unite America and Europe in artistic sacred music. Parenthetically, it is also somewhat ironical that Protestants of the bigger liberal denominations with the best music programs have begun to use our Latin treasures just when we have disowned them for worship.

When I visited the World Library offices recently, Mr. Westendorf told me that he had had to move several tons of Latin music out of the warehouse to make room for the new English Masses which his company is publishing, mostly Masses for unison choir, with or without congregation. When I asked him why so many unison Masses in his total list, he answered:

"That is about all we can sell these days, the way things are going. And it is easier to get an Imprimatur if we include a part for the congregation."

The fault is obviously not in our publishers, but in ourselves, that we have fallen so low. But this saturation of the country with unison Masses, quite apart from the question of Latin or vernacular, has in many areas literally destroyed the choral high Mass. This is the most unkindest cut of all, and has no justification in either the language or the spirit of the Constitution.

The spirit calls for as much congregational participation as possible; the letter is equivocal.

Thus, Chapter 2 and a single statement in Chapter 6 emphasize only the importance of congregational participation, while ignoring the problems of such participation in the traditional art music of the high Mass. On the other hand, many statements in Chapter 6 call for careful preservation of the treasures of Catholic sacred music and for diligent promotion of choirs. These have seemed to be ignored in America.

The Constitution repeats most of the principles of the *motu proprio* of Pius X and of the encyclical *Musicae Sacrae Disciplinae* of Pius XII. It retains, for instance, the so-called trinity of song, with primacy assigned to

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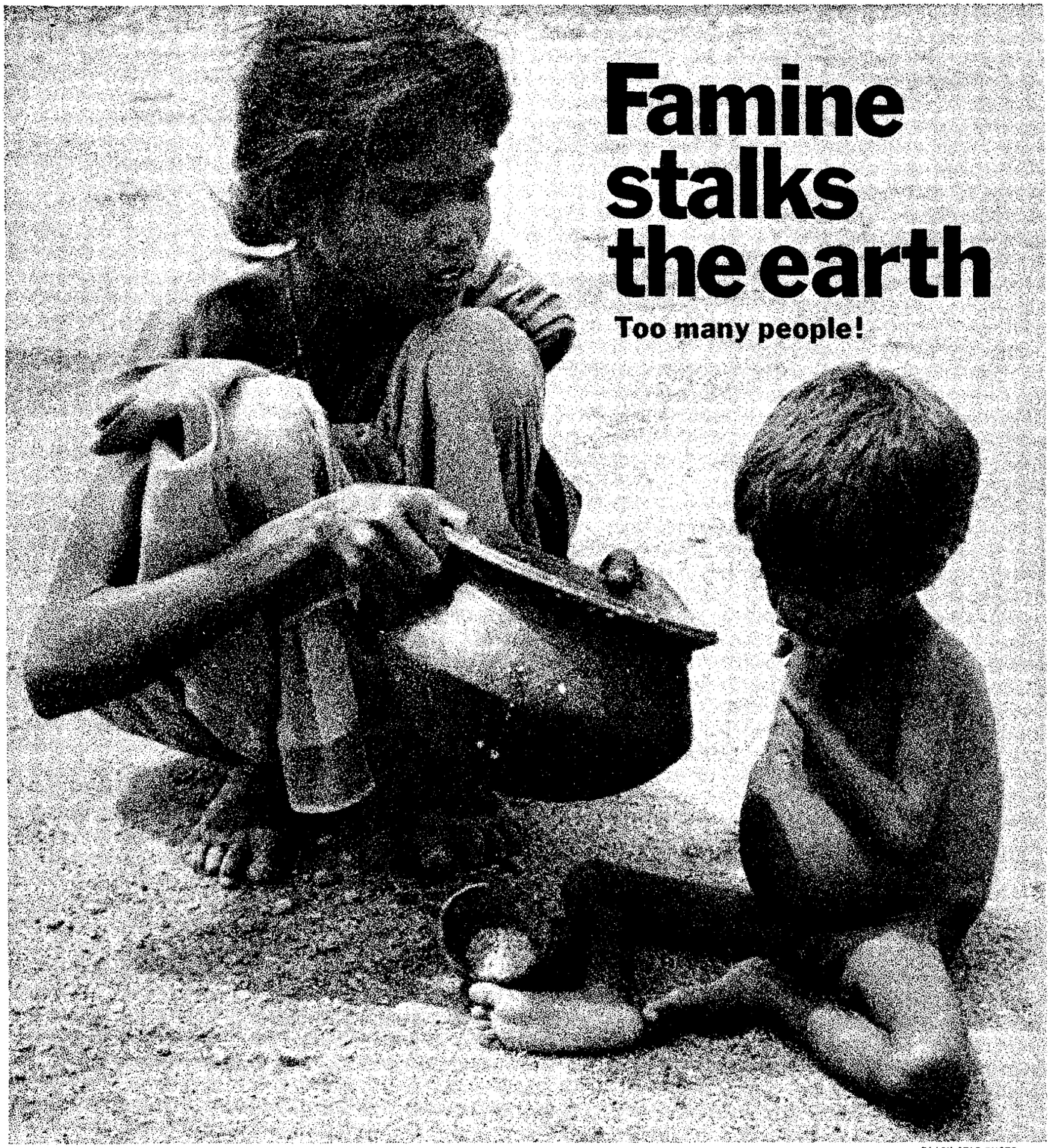

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Food into a bottomless pit!

To President Lyndon B. Johnson

"The world is on the threshold of the biggest famine in history," according to Raymond Ewell, former advisor to the Government of India. "If present trends continue, it seems likely that famine will reach serious proportions in India, Pakistan and China in the early 1970s. Latin America will fall in this category by 1980. Such a famine will be of massive proportions, affecting hundreds of millions, possibly billions of persons."

The Director-General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, Binay Sen, said: "Either we take the fullest measures both to raise productivity and to stabilize population growth, or we face a disaster of unprecedented magnitude.... Problems of hunger and malnutrition which afflict more than a half of the world's population... pose a *serious threat to peace.*"

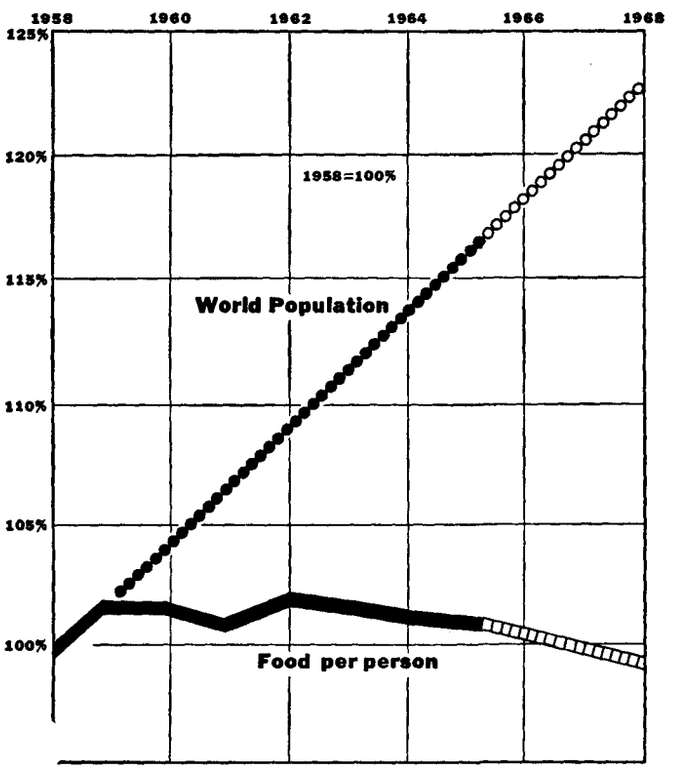
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman, said: "Problems of staggering proportions face the densely populated underdeveloped countries of the world in their effort to keep food production in pace with population growth. The supply of readily cultivatable land is nearly exhausted in many of those countries, and new land can be brought under cultivation only at high cost."

The United States has shipped abroad, since Congress enacted the so-called "Food For Peace" law in 1954, food amounting *to the gigantic sum of $12 billion,* mostly on a give-away basis.

Our food warehouses that were bursting at the seams a few years ago are now largely down to a normal inventory. Congress recently authorized Secretary Freeman to go into the open market and buy dried milk to keep up our lunch program for overseas children.

India receives from the United States more than a half of its wheat at the present rate of *20,000 tons a day.* Observers believe that this assistance is the only barrier against large scale famine and open rebellion.

With all this out-pouring of American resources we are not making a dent at solving the problem. Even if we were to continue such a program on a vastly stepped-up basis, as some suggest, until American farm lands were exhausted, we still could not feed the burgeoning billions of people.



This tells the story

Basic problem: Skyrocketing population

Everything possible, of course, should be done to increase the food supply, but *it is the skyrocketing population that menaces today's world.* Latin America, as an example, increased its food production over the last five years, but with 25 million more people, the *average individual* had 7% less to eat. In another five years there will be 35 million *more people* living south of the Rio Grande.

Mr. President, we agree with you that the population problem is the *"most profound challenge to the future of all the world".* And we applaud your promise in the State of the Union Message to help those nations that are trying to control population growth by increased research and financial aid.

But the fact remains that to date the manpower and resources of the various agencies of the Government committed to meet this transcendent challenge rank below a hundred less important projects.

Every day lost in tackling this matter on a massive scale will compound your problems and those of your successors. For you were right, Mr. President, when you said:

"I do not believe that our island of abundance will be finally secure in a sea of despair and unrest, or in a world where even the oppressed may one day have access to the engines of modern destruction."

There will be 300 million more mouths to feed in the world five years from now—most of them hungry. Hunger brings turmoil—and turmoil, as we have learned, creates the atmosphere in which the communists seek to conquer the earth.

FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations
ADMIRAL ARTHUR W. RADFORD, former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
EDWARD V. RICKENBACKER, Chairman, Eastern Air Lines, Inc.
LESSING ROSENWALD, former Chairman, Sears, Roebuck & Co.
CHARLES E. SCRIPPS, Chairman, Scripps-Howard Newspapers
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the Gregorian chant, but with Renaissance and modern sacred polyphony also encouraged. It gives no mandate to discard artistic music in the churches. Yet, in its practical implementation by bishops and liturgical commissions in America, it would seem to call for complete participation of congregations in all music sung in the church. This is obviously not the intent of the Constitution but of the over-zealous liturgical-participation party, who now have the ear of the hierarchy.

The liberal stance since the promulgation of the Constitution has been to welcome, rightly, the changes in the direction of greater liturgical participation for all the faithful, while observing, wrongly, a discreet silence about the dreary musical sounds in the churches ascending to offend against the throne of heaven. At the same time, most of the howling about return to this or that aspect of liturgy has come from the right wing.

The liberals may have failed to notice that there is abroad in the land a new mentality of liturgical restriction, no different from the mentality of Cecilianism or Chantism, a threatening intimation that, now that the age of the layman has dawned, the Church will brook no interference to participation of the congregation in every aspect of worship music, regardless of ability or desire. This is like asking everyman to build, and to make paintings and sculptures for, the churches. This did not happen even in the "spontaneous" cathedral-building of the Middle Ages. In the face of the broad-based mediocrity which this mentality has engendered today, perhaps it is time for the liberal to howl in defence of a healthy art music in the Church.

If we let any official mentality, which is essentially a conservative phenomenon, replace the conservative mentality of the Cecilian reformers, while at the same time we discourage artistic progress and experimentation in polyphonic music, then we are not liberals, no matter what our banner, but Philistines.

It is regrettable that, in the rush to get everybody into the act, artistic values have been largely ignored. For true artistic music, beautifully performed, has always had the power to sway the emotions of men, whether in church or not, but more particularly if they are witnessing the sacred drama of the Mass; and their responses can be a positive good for the life of the spirit. This is true in spite of our present and immediately past practice of enduring the most atrocious sounds in church, in the name of greater sharing of liturgical engagement, or of doing the best we can and God will understand. God is only half the reason for public worship; the other half is man.

The whole question of the new Mass will, of course, continue to be discussed, perhaps for years to come. Whether we will be encouraged to produce more choral works of fine artistic quality in the various vernaculars of the world, or whether we will somehow make room in the new order of things for retaining the ancient and honorable Latin works, is impossible to predict during this massive Heraclitean flux.

Other questions arise. What will we ever do, for example, to eliminate simultaneous singing in the pews and speaking at the altar?

How can we divide singing between the trained choir and the congregation, to slight the value of neither group?

And, as corollary, how can we use trained choirs to lead good congregational singing? We cannot throw all our resources into one or two Sunday services, as the Protestants do, because of our universal obligation to attend Sunday Mass. Until the obligation is removed, or until churches can be big enough to accommodate a whole parish at one or two services, we cannot hope to have music comparable in quality at all services, unless we settle, as we are doing, for the lowest quality.

Finally, in adapting vernacular texts for the Mass, when will we be given some latitude in translations which are to be set to music? Although literal, *Lord, have mercy,* with its staccato jerks, will never fit music like *Kyrie eleison* or even *Domine, miserere.*

The answers to our questions and problems are admittedly not simple. But while the questions are discussed and debated, it is madness to let our liturgical art music be set back another hundred years, putting it beyond redemption.

Aesthetic values in worship deserve much more consideration than we have lately given them. While the cultivation of the beautiful on earth is not, of itself, an earnest of Paradise, yet it may serve as an appropriate prelude to our eternal ravishment by the Beatific Vision, the Ultimate Beauty.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

DINO CAMPANA

THREE FLORENTINE GIRLS WALK

(*A Translation by* I. L. SALOMON)

Rolled with a virginal gait
Rolled, head of hair like music
In the splendor of the weak sun
There were three girls all of one grace
Rolled with a virginal gait
Curly and black head of hair like music
There were three girls all of one grace
And six little feet in a marche militaire.

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FOUR-YEAR TERMS?

Reform of Congress

WALTER DEAN BURNHAM

The President would have been out of his usual form had his State of the Union Message not contained at least a few surprises. This year one of them was the formal proposal of a constitutional amendment lengthening the terms of congressmen to four years running concurrently with the President's. With much of the Message dominated by the Vietnam war, this proposal brought forth by far the heaviest and most heartfelt applause of the evening.

This proposal has a fairly extensive history, much of which has taken place in the groves of Academe. For quite a while it has been obvious to serious students of Congress that the two-year term in the House has a number of serious drawbacks. In the first place, Congress today is a vastly more complex legislature than the Founders could have imagined. The rise of the positive service state has been accompanied everywhere by an enormous increase in the volume and detail of legislation. In the American context, this has meant that congressional committee work has become ever more specialized, technical and demanding of time and energy. The complexities of subject matter and technique in legislation cannot be learned in a summer, or in the interval between incessant campaigns.

Secondly, it is easily forgotten that as recently as 1900 the average congressman confronted less than 40,000 voters at the polls; today he must find ways of coping with at least four times that many constituents —and in an era when these constituents, far more than their ancestors, turn to their congressman for various kinds of services. This demand has increased so sharply, in fact, that legislators and others have suggested that we follow Scandinavian practice and create an *ombudsman,* a kind of "assistant congressman" representing the interests of constituents before an impersonal bureaucracy. Such a division of labor has a lot to recommend it in theory, as would the development of a disciplined party system which could insulate the legislator from some kinds of constituency pressures. But, as it is, many a congressman, if forced to the choice, will be well advised to spend most of his time nursing his constituency rather than on more centrally legislative activities. Extension of the representative's term to four years might give some freshmen in the House a fighting chance to become known back home, and all members of the House a better opportunity to perform both constituent and legislative functions more adequately.

Divided Government

Probably the most important criticism of the two-year term is that it frequently produces "divided government" in off-year elections. The well-known "rule" of American politics is that the President's party loses seats in Congress at midterm. More precisely, Presidents entering office since 1928 have had an average majority of 101 for their party in the House, but an average majority of only 25 in the last half of their terms—a net mean loss of 38 House seats at midterm. Moreover, six out of sixteen off-year elections since 1900 have swept the opposition party into control of the House, while only once in seventeen elections—in 1956—did an ingoing President fail to take a congressional majority into power with him.

In American conditions, to be sure, arguments of this kind are apt to remain pretty formalist unless reforms far more direct in their effect on the character of the American system than lengthening of terms are contemplated. In the first place, the garment of party hangs loosely on many legislators: a Democratic President needs not just any majority, but at least a two-to-one majority in Congress if he hopes to overcome the Conservative Coalition with any regularity. 1964 produced the first such majority since 1936, and quite possibly the last for many years to come. Secondly, there is of course nothing in this proposal which could prevent an off-year landslide from sweeping the opposition into control of the Senate. Even so, a President will no doubt feel more comfortable and be more effective in pressing his program if his own party controls the House than otherwise.

President Johnson's proposal is probably in for rough

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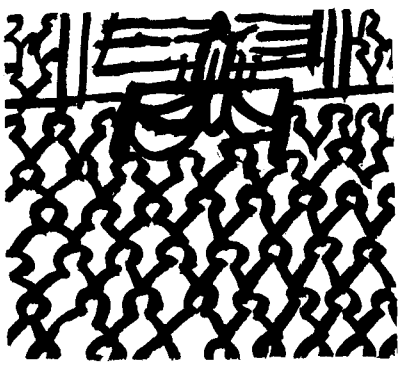
sledding. The idea itself is not particularly new, and it has always received a Senatorial cold shoulder because it would make sitting Senators vulnerable to attack from House incumbents who would no longer have to risk giving up their own seats in order to run against them. Moreover, a considerable number of congressmen seem less than enthusiastic: they are attracted by the obvious advantages, but are torn by the fear that four-year terms coinciding with the President's would give him even greater ascendancy in our governmental structure than he has now. Some have suggested that congressmen be elected every four years in the off years. Still others have proposed that one-half of the House be elected every two years, thus combining presidential-year congressional elections, off-year "referenda" on the performance of the in-party, and the four-year term.



It might be appropriate to pause long enough, amidst these doubts and fears, to reflect on the pattern of actual political behavior in the United States. Under normal conditions a vast proportion of adult voters lack any clear knowledge of what their congressmen are doing in the area of public-policy formation. In 1958, in fact, nearly half of them seemed not to know who their congressman was. Fortunately for incumbents, the visibility of their opponents is lower still. This markedly low salience of the House in the voter's consciousness serves a paradoxical dual function: it helps to enhance the President's prestige and authority, but it also insulates the incumbent congressman in most cases from any great need to worry about the electoral consequences of his deviations from Administration policy. Congressional elections running concurrently with the Presidential term would probably do very little to change this situation one way or the other, at least in the short run. The root causes of executive ascendancy and congressional independence from the Administration run far deeper than this. Even so, the advantages of the four-year term and concurrent election with the President are not trivial. Moreover, it is just possible that this change might so shift patterns of political behavior over time as to pave the way for a broader consciousness of the need for party government.

Very little, on the other hand, can be said for the idea of electing the House only in off years. Forty years ago Justice Holmes observed in a dissent that "We fear to grant power and are unwilling to recognize it when it exists." The off-year proposal, like all other devices designed to fragment power in our system, arises from just this failing in our political culture. The lesson of 1787 must at least in part be unlearned. Power fragmented is not power destroyed in the modern world: it is power made hopelessly irresponsible to anyone except those who themselves wield it.

It goes without saying that any proposal to insulate congressional elections from presidential is a proposal to undermine what influence the President now has on congressional policy formation. But more than this, it would actively take advantage of the fact that about one-fifth of those who vote in presidential years do not turn out at midterm. Since 1950, for example, only 43.5 percent of the potential electorate has bothered to come to the polls, on the average, in midterm elections. The combination of these two factors adds up to a perfect recipe for deadlock whenever controversial policy proposals are concerned. The same criticism applies with exactly half as much force to proposals for electing half of the House each biennium—assuming that the severe technical difficulties involved in such a scheme could be mastered.

The debate which has already begun over the President's suggestion reveals forcefully the truth of Holmes' insight into our political culture. A great many serious students of the American governmental system, from Woodrow Wilson to the present, have concluded that our system of separated powers makes impossible a satisfactory resolution of the problem of power in today's world. It can be taken for granted that positive governmental power must be mobilized and focused on great collective national objectives, and in quantities which would doubtless have terrified the men of 1787. To raise the issue whether "big government" ought to be is to be preoccupied with a false problem. Its existence is part of our manifest destiny in this century. The real question is whether ways can be found to make the exercise of massive power responsible to the public, predictably coherent and collegially shared. The alternative to political institutions and practices which responsibly concentrate political power is, of course, the dispersion of such power, the breeding of irresponsibility and mass political alienation and eventually, in inevitable reaction, the overloading of the Presidency. The result of our national attempt to live up to Holmes'

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maxim has been to produce, more visibly every year, a constitutional crisis which many have predicted but none has been able to prevent.

One's thoughts thus turn to more meaningful changes in institutional patterns. For instance: presidential responsibility to the House of Representatives, with the power of dissolution and the obligation to resign after a vote of censure, and the reduction of the legislative power of the Senate to that of second chambers elsewhere in the world. To think of such changes is to do two things. It places the President's four-year-term suggestion in its proper perspective as a probably beneficial but certainly marginal change in the system. It also points out how utterly futile it is as a practical matter to do anything along the lines of really major structural reform.

It can be predicted with high accuracy that tomorrow will closely resemble today. Planned change in the direction of responsible government is out of the question, barring near-revolutionary changes in the political culture. Such change might occur in an unplanned manner, given enough time, but this remains unlikely unless Americans gradually come to agree that it is necessary to tame the positive state in the interest of democracy and abandon our favorite national delusions about political power. Most likely, enough of us will cling to these delusions to prevent such changes altogether. This dialectic between wish and reality seems fated to result in the fulfillment of C. Wright Mills' prophecy: the unchallenged hegemony of an executive-centered power elite.

NEW IMPORTS

THE SCREEN

Whether you like 'em or not isn't the important thing. You've got to admit foreign films add variety and spice to our cinema diet; and sometimes their unusual subjects even wake up American producers. The latest batch of imports is definitely not in the American grain. From India has come the gentle, thoughtful "Shakespeare Wallah"—one of the better offerings at last year's N.Y. Film Festival and now in general release. It was made in India by the congenial producer-director team whose 1963 "The Householder" was such a delight. American director James Ivory and Indian producer Ismail Merchant describe their new film as "a sad footnote to the end of an empire." Actually it is a sweet-sad movie about Englishmen abroad and may remind nostalgic audiences of Kipling and E. M. Forster and, at times, of Henry James.

Its story, about a down-at-the-heels troupe of British actors whose style is no longer in demand, centers on the company's ingenue who falls in love with a handsome and attentive young Indian playboy. As the romance blossoms, the tale grows quite touching when a famous Indian movie queen makes it clear to the naïve girl that she has no intention of giving up this boy who has been her lover. But perhaps more important than the simple plot are the film's embellishments, not only the good production with its stunning black-and-white photography of Indian scenery and interiors, but also the effective portrayal of a changing society, the contrasts between the old Kiplingesque atmosphere and the new India displayed in several brilliant satirical scenes: a dinner party, a film being made, the bitchy behavior of the movie queen when she attends the troupe's performance of "Othello." Although the film lags occasionally, the large cast under director Ivory is excellent. "Shakespeare Wallah" won't set the world on fire, but its unhurried pace, interesting picture of the old order giving way to the new, and poetic romance are richly rewarding.

Also poetic and charming is "A Ballad of Love," which relates the meeting and budding romance of two very attractive young people, a music student and a deaf-mute girl. No doubt this story could have been filmed in any country, but the Russians have done it so well that it's practically perfect. Directed and co-authored by Mikhail Bogin who allowed no sentimentality to creep into the moving tale, this 45-minute movie shows the first meeting, the first embarrassments, his realization of the situation, her not wanting to get hurt, their mutual understanding, their happy compatibility, and their friendship growing into love. Director Bogin has given all this a lyrical quality heightened by the glowing performances of Victoria Fyodorova as the speechless girl and Valentin Smirnitsky as the eager oboe player, and by the good sound track that is appropriately silent at times—as when the young couple see "Romeo and Juliet" at her school for mutes, or when she goes to hear his oboe concert—and does. "A Ballad of Love" is a short, minor film, but a flawless gem.

"Dear John" is also a cinematic poem about love—but since it was made in Sweden, and could probably be made only by the uninhibited Swedes, sex comes first, with love trailing along afterward. The film starts with a sea captain and café waitress in bed, and in

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between bouts of love-making and discussion there are many flashbacks showing how they came to be there during this three-day weekend. A viewer may have a little difficulty following these flashbacks at first since they don't appear in chronological order but are set in motion by a word or idea (as in "Hiroshima, Mon Amour") and since some of them are repeated when recalled by the other party. When the viewer gets adjusted to the film's scheme, the sequences fall into place in the long hymn to love that director-scriptwriter Lars Magnus Lindgren is composing.

Both the protagonists in this hymn are cynical—the sailor because of his unfortunate marriage and unfaithful wife; the waitress because of an unfortunate love affair and a lover who deserted her and her illegitimate child. Both the man and woman (they are not youngsters) are searching for something—he perhaps for a stable, lasting love; she perhaps for a husband who loves her and really wants marriage. Under Lindgren's sensitive direction, these lead roles are extremely well played by Jarl Kulle as the somewhat jaded captain and Christina Schollin as the woman who longs for love but doesn't want to be thought of as a push-over. The supporting cast is good too, especially Morgan Andersson as the woman's athletic, protective brother and Helena Nilsson as the woman's four-year-old daughter to whom the woman is devoted and for whom the sailor begins to have great regard.

"Dear John" is a most unusual picture. Although it has the usual nude Swedish swimming scenes and is as frank in its visuals and dialogue concerned with sex as anything that has turned up in movies, its honesty and artistry keep it from being vulgar or sensational. If ever a film was made on an adult level—in the best sense of the phrase—"Dear John" is it: a cinematic hymn to love.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

TWO FOR THE HACKSAW

THE STAGE

Two of our best-known playwrights have been trying this season to keep up with the younger set, in a way that used to be considered typically American. ("There are no second-acts in American lives"—Fitzgerald.)

Tennessee Williams has decked himself in the motley of a camp absurdist, with spangled levis and obscure messages on his sweatshirt. "A Slapstick Tragedy" is the kind of across-the-board disaster of which it is commonly said that only a great man could have done it. At any rate, only a great man could have gotten it produced. (Lesser writers receive better protection.)

The first half of the bill is a routine effort called "The Mutilated," an O. Henryish fable about two prostitutes at Christmas time. The worst thing about it is a Brechtian chorus line, got up to look like Christmas carolers, which keeps breaking in with a maundering dirge about life's victims. This is really rubbing our noses in it. The story is a wistful little affair and does not need this extra oom-pa-pa of teutonic irony to make its modest point.

The second play is the real problem. Since the "Gnadiges Fraulein" has already been savaged almost as much as its heroine (who gets her eyes pecked out and her dignity affronted) by the nation's critics, and has gone limping into limbo, we shall content ourselves here with a last playful kick in the teeth. The short of it is that the "G.F." is a comedy heavily dependent on wild black gags and these gags are not very good. The audience laughs for a while out of expectation, and because Zoe Caldwell says her lines as if they *must* be funny (faith on the part of the performer can work wonders); but every cheap laugh has to be paid for in the theater, and a kind of dumb agony sets in as we realize that the jokes are bad and getting worse: and that there seem to be hundreds of them, crawling up your legs and down your neck.

Williams is not one of those acrobats, like Thornton Wilder, who can sashay around in different styles and do himself some credit in each. His sense of comedy is a by-product of his main obsession, but a largely useless by-product. He may find it funny to have a girl mutilated by birds, while she forages with them for fish—we can almost hear the wild giggles, as his usual nightmare becomes just *too* ridiculous—but this relief is private and does nothing for us. Comedy requires a consensus of myths and we have to be reminded first *why* it is funny for a woman to have her eyes pecked out.

In other words, what we want from Williams is the nightmare itself, one more time. If he is tired of this, or has found release from it by laughing at it, all right. It would be encouraging to see him started on a new career. And Williams has earned the right to experiment on our time. But absurd comedy does not look like his mode. His forte is memory, black, violet, indigo, and the play of imagination on memory, and not the wild leaps and disconnections of absurdity. And Williams is one of those writers who, when he is not operating in his own magnetic field, is not especially talented. (*Closed at the Longacre*)

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William Inge's approach to the new generation is rather different. He wants to be den mother—the twinkling oldster who understands youth better than anyone and who talks to it from the shoulder when it goes too far. Same old Inge, in fact: creating a society he understands and then understanding the hell out of it.

In "Where's Daddy" he has a couple of fine young people who just need a little straightening out, with a moist palm on the shoulder-blade. Inge has always, of course, simplified social and emotional issues to the point of insult. But at least he used to be writing about cornpone themes which he seemed to know about. Here he is dealing with New York hippies, concerning which he knows, or is telling, less than your favorite national magazine.

His hero and heroine are basically fine kids (sorry, I seem to have said that already) who have been reading the same magazines as Mr. Inge, and have acquired not a single thought or experience of their own, not one conviction that can stand up to a routine blast from a middle-aged middle-brow sophist. (Perhaps they have actually been living *inside* a magazine, in a nice doctor's office, and not in a real "pad" at all.)

Anyway these two caricatures are about to give birth to a little caricature of their own. And they are so wrong-headed and modern and basically wonderful that they want to put it out for adoption. Of course I know, and you know, and Mr. *Inge* knows (my God, does Mr. Inge know) that their fine instincts will reassert themselves in the crunch, and that when the little plastic bundle with the stereophonic squeal arrives they will fall all over it.

So, with the suspense taken care of, there is nothing to do but sit back and listen to the little warm homilies lapping on your ears. These are provided by a mischievous homosexual elder, played in traditional Hollywood-uncle style by Hiram Sherman, who is sufficiently pathetic to be acceptable. He makes much sport of the fact that the kids want to find themselves ("Why?" he asks crushingly) and accuses them of excessive psychologizing—for all the world as if they were William Inge characters.

Since no one has done more than Inge to promote this kind of half-baked self-analysis, one takes it in especially poor part to find him twitting his young creations for the same practice. However, it all helps to chasten the kids and resign them to their plastic bundle (and while we're on the subject I wish someone would do something about that stage baby—it's beginning to get on my nerves) and to their inevitable absorption into middle-class life: which perhaps they have never left. Inge's message is that there is nothing frightening about hipsters, and although he falsifies the issue characteristically—there is nothing frightening about *his* hipsters—he may be in the right of it there. (*Closed at the Billy Rose*)

WILFRID SHEED

BOOKS

Convergence and the biblical scholar

God in Creation and Evolution

ANSFRIED HULSBOSCH

Sheed & Ward, $4.95

ROBERT T. FRANCOEUR

Within the past year the Dutch theologians have gained the attention of American Catholics disturbed by the lack of relevance and validity apparent in so much of our "traditional" theology. The ambiguous reaction of Rome to the transubstantiation-transignification debate last fall may have tempered the spirits of some theologians and laymen, but the task of reinterpreting our Catholic beliefs in the light of an evolving world-perspective has continued with an ever increasing dynamism.

Fr. Hulsbosch is a new light in this trend and *God in Creation and Evolution* is a very fitting introduction to a very creative and pioneering biblical scholar. The author covers a wide range of topics from creation, the nature of man and original sin to salvation history, the liturgy, redemption, Mary and the Church. Perhaps the topics are too many to be treated as fully as we might like, but pioneering books such as this should not be subject to hair-splitting or nit-picking: the reader should rather accept them as pointers for further study. Yet there were occasions in almost every chapter when the author lost this reader and left him wondering what the point of discussion was.

Throughout the book the reader will find the fiery inspiration of Teilhard de Chardin providing both excitement and distress as Hulsbosch views the problems of an evolving universe from a Teilhardian perspective. Teilhard only set the dimension of mind; he could not examine all the details of our faith in that dimension. Some have intuitively seen the implications in the

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Teilhardian vision and retreated from the challenge, even before the venture was opened. Those of stout heart and brave venturing minds will find Hulsbosch exciting and disturbing.

"The notion of an historical paradise, and an historical pair of progenitors (Adam and Eve) who possessed paradisal privileges in the beginning and threw them away by breaking a concrete comandment—this idea I consider to be incompatible with an evolutionary picture of the world." Hulsbosch continues by pointing out that biblically the man, Adam, whom God creates "is man as he shall be at the end" of the world. Thus original sin lies in the incompleteness of man as an unfinished creature, incapable of himself of accepting and transcending his own finiteness. In such a view our salvation history is freed from some over-simplified interpretations given it in recent days. Redemption is a cosmic affair with the Galilean Nativity and Resurrection only its initial phase. In this view the principles of the moral life are seen as an essential part of God's creative word, leading man towards his full creation and freeing him from original sin, "that powerlessness, arising from nature, of man in his incompleteness as a creature."

The chapter on Mary is even more dangerously provocative. On purely biblical grounds, Mary's virginity is freed of what has become a Platonic (pagan) biological reduction to physical integrity. For Hulsbosch, Mary's virginity centers on her openness to God as a whole person, perhaps without any reference to the biological, references which in the past have approached the ridiculous suggestions of a spontaneous caesarean section to explain Christ's birth without "destroying Mary's integrity," or other more subtle intrusions of pagan philosophies of nature. Ecumenically such a suggestion could prove extremely fruitful.

The same holds true for his ideas of the Church where, again working from the development of the concept in the bible, Hulsbosch sees the Church and religion as cosmic in character. The implications are devastating. The secular city is not nearly as secular as we have been led to believe. Rather it is a challenge for us to *radically restructure* the Church to fit its role in today's world. Simply tucking God away in the brick and stone prison of an eighteenth-century social structure, the parish, and reaffirming "traditional" medieval class distinctions of clergy and laity is no way to face the cosmic character of Christ's incarnation-epiphany. But the implications are disturbing indeed and some readers, lay and maybe even clerical, may prefer to remain undisturbed. If so, we would advise them to pass over this book.

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Love Makes the Air Light

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THOMAS P. McDONNELL

Why shouldn't a priest make love poems?—the question mark's the squeak of mere grammar—because, of course, he should. Next to the sacred art, it is the (w)holiest kind of love he can make. In his third and best book of poems—possibly the best book of sheerly lyric poetry published this last year—Raymond Roseliep makes love poems, which are poems in love with everything they touch and feel and see, and he does this in the mode of an astonishing creative clarity.

Emphasize creative clarity. There is a sacrament of difference between creative clarity and pious transparency, and Raymond Roseliep makes that kind of difference in his poems. Few poets today have this gift of creative lucidity. Cummings certainly had it; Philip Lamantia (wherever he is in whatever Mexican landscapes of the soul) still has it; Robert Lax, in "Circus of the Sun," and R. E. F. Larrson both share the Blakean gift of fire, shed flakes of poems like light.

The beautiful title to Father Roseliep's book of poems is taken from a line in the first chapter of John Updike's *Rabbit, Run.* It is a perfectly chosen title, which illuminates nearly all that Father Roseliep writes—from the whole of childhood in the long-line syllabics of "My Father's Trunk" through a dazzling and various performance—and what is poetry but a *per*-forming rather than an *in*forming art?—to the final "Smoke Smell of Spring" and the middle years of "a priest darkgolden/oiled and wined for dance."

Here is a range of informing, yes, but of a far different order from the note left in the milk bottle. An authentic poem seldom, if ever, intimidates you into having to "understand" precisely what it means. A true poem does not put your intuitions to sleep—almost a contradiction in terms—but awakens them to livelier perceptions still, both

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inside and outside the art and artifice of the poem itself.

Sometimes—more than sometimes, frequently—a single line can work this kind of magic-making, as in: "Michael Fox and applecheek day," ". . . Outside, someone was calling/ollie-ollie-oxenfree, and I was free/as a robin, a sun print on a swimmer," "Rustling in Julia's left-over silk,/feed David on apple pie & milk," "We played harmonicas of red-ripe melon," "The nun who served ice cream heaps," "Geese in fluid ticktack-toe," "He unfolds the river like a treasure map." And other more stringent lines, in turn, evoke other more stringent points of awareness in the reader.

Raymond Roseliep has written some of his best poems in this book, but he has also managed something here that is unique in our contemporary poetry: he has made the haiku an authentic rock crystal American artifact. He has written without question the best haiku-poetry this country has ever produced—and Adelaide me no Crapsey in variant cinquin form—and he has written it, moreover, in sufficient abundance to prove that the idiom, in his hands, is a perfectly viable poetic form.

Too, Father Roseliep will no doubt scandalize the textbook purists by having de-fleshed the sonnet of its iambic fatty tissue. He writes, in the most literal and structural and figurative senses, a lean-boned sonnet that runs in the rhythm of American time and stress. Here is poetry, then, that is as various as the life and love it praises, written by an American priest who sees poetry as the extension of art of the sacramental vision. But a vision which, like the fragments of a mosaic, is held together in the verisimilitude of the total poetic act.

REVIEWERS

FATHER ROBERT T. FRANCOEUR *teaches embryology at Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey. Presently working for his doctorate at the University of Delaware, his most recent book is* Perspectives in Evolution (*Helicon*).

THOMAS P. MC DONNELL *is Book Editor at the Boston* Pilot *and the editor of* A Thomas Merton Reader (*Harcourt, Brace*). *He has contributed to* The Critic *and other journals.*

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 67*)

available for distribution to any faculty member. Each new faculty member receives a copy of the reprint during the orientation session for new faculty members. I trust this will clarify the matter in the minds of your readers.

DR. HENRY R. HORVAT
Dean of Faculty, St. John's University

Reply

Port Washington, N.Y.

To the Editors: Perhaps the best way to answer Dr. Horvat's letter is to quote the relevant sections of Article 5.7 of the University Statutes of 1960, which were in force at the time when 31 faculty members were dismissed without any statement of specific charges and without a hearing. COMMONWEAL readers may then judge for themselves whether Dr. Horvat has refuted my statement that St. John's violated its own statutes.

Here is article 5.7.1.

5.7.1 The faculty status of persons who do not enjoy tenure is terminated by the Board of Trustees in accordance with the Subsections here following:

a. Such persons may be dismissed at any time when there is adequate cause, determined in accordance with Sections 5.7.3 and 4 of these Statutes.

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Walter M. Abbott SJ, Editor

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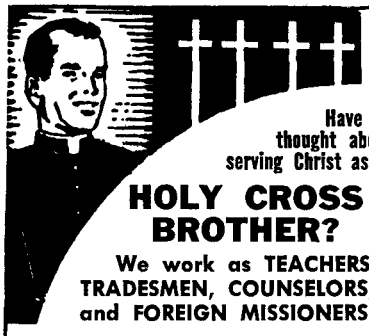

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serve the University as faculty members, by directing the President, or the Academic Vice President, not to renew the engagements of such persons. c. Written notice of the Board's intent to terminate the faculty status of any person in accordance with the preceding Subsection b shall be given to that person, personally or by registered mail, before the terminal date of his then current engagement as a faculty member. This notice shall be given to a Professor or an Associate Professor at least nine months before such date, and to a part-time member of the Faculty at least three months before such date.

Article 5.7.3 mentioned above, is as follows:

Article 5.7.3 The Board of Trustees dismisses or suspends from faculty status any member of the Faculty at any time for adequate cause, that is, for conduct seriously prejudicial to the University, such as, but not limited to a deliberate infraction of law or commonly accepted standards of social propriety or Christian moral standards, failure to cooperate intelligently and with civility in the functioning of the University, insubordination, neglect, inefficiency or incompetence which impairs his performance of the duties of a faculty member.

Article 5.7.4, which runs to more than a thousand words, sets conditions for dismissal or suspension of a faculty member: there must be written cause, notification of the right to a hearing before a special faculty committee, the right to counsel at the hearing and the right to introduce evidence in one's own behalf, to question witnesses and to obtain a stenographic record of the proceedings.

All of these conditions govern suspension or dismissal as set forth in 5.7.1 a. In pointing to 5.7.1 b, which merely covers simple non-renewal of contract, Dr. Horvat apparently supports the University's position that no one was fired or suspended but that the University simply chose not to renew the contracts of certain faculty members. These faculty members were suddenly and without warning ordered to stop teaching in the middle of a semester, turn in their records of students' grades, and report on what they had covered and what remained to be covered in their courses. Such an abrupt and forced withdrawal of a teacher's duties and privileges is either a suspension or dismissal and as such comes under 5.7.3 and 5.7.4.

FRANCIS GRIFFITH
Chairman, Department of Curriculum and Teaching, St. John's University

'Hawks and Realists'

Princeton, N.J.

To the Editors: That William Pfaff's fatuous "Hawk and Realists" (Jan. 28) should be published can be explained only by the unthinking willingness displayed almost everywhere to defer to the urbane proposition—now exploded in physics that laws of symmetry exist and extend to the moral posturing of nations. The possibility of moral *a*symmetry existing between nations is taken *in principle* to be unlikely or impossible—just as some intellectualist physicists believed it impossible that Nature could be either left or right "handed." The appearance of such bland illogic represents a notable pouring of water into the wine of COMMONWEAL editorial acumen.

Mr. Pfaff's choice of the controversial British historian Carr as a sounding-board of political "realism" is an unlucky one. This unhawkish historian's moral modesty about the events of the late thirties and even subsequently about Hitler cannot inspire confidence in his principle that "shifts in the real alignment of power must be accommodated." Were Mr. Chamberlain to hear this puerile pragmatism enunciated today he would surely feel that Mr. Pfaff had gone out of his way to mock his embarrassment. Indeed, one wonders if Mr. Pfaff's advice to the Czechs, when it was not yet apparent that Germany could and would invade, and when the Sudetenlanders were still only an armed minority, could have been anything else than concession and compromise in the face of this "real alignment of power." One wonders also what Mr. Pfaff would have had to say to the Russian defenders during the

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early stages of Stalingrad. Documents from both the Russian High Command and letters of the Russian soldiers themselves reveal nothing so much as the conviction that resistance was doomed. Again, one could see Mr. Pfaff lecturing to the Lincoln Brigade's later contingents about the "immorality" of their continuing "futile" battle. The robust banality of Mr. Pfaff's argument is enlivened by sudden skittishness before these facts. It was not Wilsonian idealism or a sense of moral self-righteousness that guided American policy throughout the thirties, in China, Ethiopia, Spain, Czechoslovakia and Poland. This was the era of the dazzling pragmatist so much admired by men like Carr, Walter Lippmann and Mr. Pfaff.

I am not certain that we are upholding the "principles of mankind" in Vietnam, although it may appear someday that we did. But given the messianic complexion of—and I qualify it—*doctrinaire* Marxism, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that to resign ourselves to this remote *putsch* in Vietnam could lead to another Stalingrad at Sydney or Manila within a decade. The fact that allies gloat like enemies at our discomfort, and that a worldwide unanimity on our moral posturing is lacking, may prove that we are smug and isolated, but it can tell us nothing about the inherent merit of our stance. Mr. Pfaff's reasoning would have led England to give up the presumption that she was defending moral values as well as her own soil, since in 1940, at least, confirming opinion could not have been found in Russia, Japan, Italy, parts of Ireland and Latin America, and even among articulate elements in France and America.

Possible defeat in Korea did not lead us to recklessly extend that war. Nor is a certain recklessness in war always without benefit to the world, as Russian scorched-earth-policy proved. The pattern of Korea hardly supports Pfaff's thesis that we are seeking merely a victory "over Asian enemies," or that such a victory, were it won, would be a hollow one. DAN SULLIVAN

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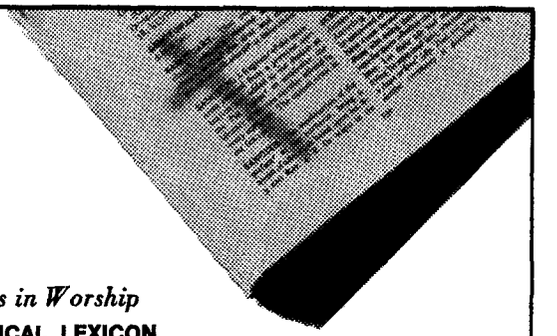

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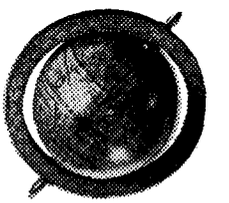

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